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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tambaran that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
a [202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

3½ bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankd) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

7½ "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally
3½ set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation,
[202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone
[533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta
[192] to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest
[462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it
[614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Hamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 20, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

759 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwoyaub na me yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Kewi Tuk (Yessen) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumve Sumve. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Owiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192]

Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192]

Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgng represents low gong; gadgng represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

ngurfnjo

gadang gadong gading